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THEIR TRUE FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE

By

GUSTAVUS OHLINGER

WITH A FOREWORD BY OWEN WISTER

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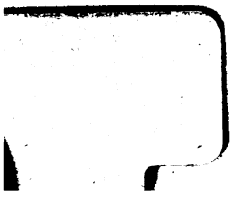

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OUR NATIONAL PROBLEMS

THEIR TRUE FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE

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THEIR TRUE FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE

BY

GUSTAVUS OHLINGER

WITH A FOREWORD

BY OWEN WISTER

"I am attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States."

—PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION.

"I declare, on oath, . . . that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same."

—OATH OF CITIZENSHIP.

New York
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1917

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Dedication

To One who through Sunny Days and
Summer Squalls has sailed with
me the Inland Seas

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PREFACE

I

FOR the sake of the facts that it gathers, this book should be read not once, but two or three times, by all Americans who believe in Union, in Lincoln, and in Liberty. A single reading is not enough; most of us forget what we have read but once. What is told here (much of it) has already been swept before our eyes, floating and bobbing on the ceaseless deluge of the daily and hourly press. Some few of us noticed it when we saw it, but how many of us remembered any of it overnight? By breakfast time the surface of the newspaper flood was covered with new facts at which we stared for a while, soon to forget these also. But

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here, picked out of the welter, is a collection worth keeping in mind and dwelling upon, not merely to-day, but during many to-morrows. It bears upon the future of our national health.

II

Two kinds of Germans inhabit our soil. The first kind began to come here two hundred and thirty-three years ago, and continued coming. (Carl Schurz was an illustrious instance after 1848.) These sought a place where they could pray to God in their own way and live their lives in their own way, at peace from the horrible wars they had seen, free, safe, and law-abiding; quite secondarily, they hoped to better their fortunes. To our new world they gave their faith and with us they loyally cast their lot. It is not at all of these that I wish to speak, save in their praise. Note this carefully: these desirable citizens were not Prussians but South Germans — as different from Prussians (except in

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speech) as are we. Deep in their fiber live idealism, poetry, a passion for music. Would we had their sentiment, their simplicity, their fervent power of emotion, their deep responsiveness to nature, their value for order and collective discipline for the sake of making existence less chill, less thin, richer in cordial sensations, more decorated, more genial! All this have they brought among us, and you will find it spread everywhere through our ill-nourished American life.

III

Do not confuse these welcome people with the others, the Prussians and the prussianized, whom this book concerns. These latter are newcomers. Nothing that brought the South Germans brought them; they hadn't fled from horrible wars, they had run away from military service; they didn't come to pray in their own way, but to make money in their own way; they cast no lot with our new world, their oath of allegiance

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to the United States was in essence perjury, provided for in Berlin. Keep them distinct.

A natural love of the Fatherland, a natural hope she will triumph in the present war, often brings both kinds of Germans together, as may be seen in the following instance — taken at random from many: Professor J. A. Waltz, prussianized German of Harvard, was presiding last autumn over a meeting of Germans held at Worcester, Massachusetts, to decide upon political action during the campaign. A man of German blood, active in Massachusetts politics, began to address the meeting in English. Voices from the audience (prussianized voices) called at him in German (prussianized German) to *speak in German.* (In Germany to speak English at meetings, or anything but German, subjects you to fine and imprisonment.) "No," he retorted, "I'll speak the language of my own country, which is America." He wasn't prussianized. He

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didn't believe in the Milwaukee remarks you will meet in this book, where their prussianized president told ten thousand Germans, "We have long suffered the preachment that 'you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge in the American people'; but no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior culture. No! We have made it our aim to elevate others to our level."

Not suffer the preachment! Then why don't they go back to their precious Prussia? Elevate others to their level! Who asked them to? And what is their level? It is to sink the *Lusitania*. But let us consider who asked them to do this elevating.

IV

Their Kaiser said at Salzburg in 1900: "May the might of Germany become as firm and as powerful as was once that of the Roman world-empire." During our Spanish war, their Kaiser said

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(late in June, 1898) to a friend of Joseph Chamberlain, who wrote it to Dr. Morton Prince of Boston: "If I had had a larger fleet I would have taken Uncle Sam by the scruff of the neck." During that period their Kaiser's newspapers said of us: "American policy in Cuba has been characterized by violence and hypocrisy, and has not a single redeeming feature." (*Vossische Zeitung*, April 22.) "To expel Satan by Beelzebub can hardly be described as a result of genuine philanthropy." (*Kölnische Zeitung*, April 23.) You might suppose that even the prussianized German would use his own observation and reach his own conclusion as to these descriptions of our course in Cuba, where we turned Havana from a pesthouse of yellow fever into a clean city and left the island to govern itself; but no fact, none whatever, nothing that happened in Belgium, has any weight with the prussianized mind; as their Herr Albert has told us, "For a German the fact that an official

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communication is issued by the Army headquarters is proof sufficient of its absolute truth to facts." (*Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1914.) During our Spanish war the scruff-of-the-neck trick was actually attempted. Germany sent to Manila Bay a fleet equal to Admiral Dewey's. Have we forgotten that incident? How the German commander Diedrichs inquired of the English commander what the English ships would do if the German ships placed themselves between Dewey and the Spanish fleet? And how the English sailor answered: "That is an affair known only to Admiral Dewey and myself." Thus on that day England stood our friend, and the scruff-of-the-neck trick did not come off. But let us return to our prussianized Germans here. Of these, the prussianized Emil Witte writes in his interesting book (published at Leipzig, 1907), "The relations between official Germany and the emigrant subjects of the Emperor, *whether they have become citizens of the*

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Republic or not, may lead to serious complications between Germany and the United States." And of these we hear also from the Kaiser, whose speech to a secret council at Potsdam, in June, 1908, shortly after the Zeppelin airship had been tested and proved successful, is partly reported in the *New York Times* of Sunday, March 12. From this speech, here is what concerns us and the facts gathered in this book: "You will desire to know how the hostilities will be brought about. My army of spies scattered over Great Britain and France, as it is over North and South America, as well as all other parts of the world where German interests may come into a clash with a foreign power, will take good care of that. . . .

"Even now I rule supreme in the United States, where almost one half of the population is either of German birth or of German descent, and where three million voters do my bidding at the Presidential elections. No American

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Administration could remain in power against the will of the German voters, who through that admirable organization, the German American National League of the United States of America, control the destinies of the vast republic beyond the sea." . . .

Thus from the Kaiser himself do we hear that it is he who asked his German subjects to elevate us.

V

If the Kaiser controls our Presidential elections, he does not seem to have controlled that of Mr. Sweitzer, his recent candidate for Mayor of Chicago. You will read in this book that "the nomination of Mr. Sweitzer . . . was heralded by the *Fatherland* (a Kaiser paper here) as a victory for German-Americans; his subsequent defeat at the election the same paper complained of as due to unscrupulous opponents who had raised the racial issue!"

If you are a prussianized German, you

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can raise the racial issue, but if you're not, you can't, under pain of being an unscrupulous opponent; and this Heads-I-win-tails-you-lose *Kultur* of our prussianized denizens (for citizens they have showed themselves not to be) recalls most strikingly and humorously David Strauss, where he says in his study of Voltaire: "The wars of ambition which Louis XIV waged cannot be too heavily condemned; but when our Frederic the Second invaded Silesia, he was driven to it by the necessity of enlarging his young Prussia."

Driven by the necessity of enlarging! It is at least childlike and bland; and it is exactly what the prussianized president at Milwaukee meant when he said that "our aim is to elevate others to our level." He was feeling the necessity of enlarging, and it was ourselves upon whom he was to enlarge, just as Frederic the Great enlarged by elevating Silesia and part of Poland to his level, and Bismarck enlarged by elevating Schleswig-

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Holstein and Alsace and Lorraine to his level. We are now the juicy morsel for which various mouths have been watering for some time, and nobody's mouth has watered more than the Kaiser's. His speech I have quoted above evidently issued from a very watering mouth.

And how many of us have known this? How many dreamed we were a juicy morsel? And when the Spanish war was over, how many of us remembered that he of the watering mouth would have taken us by the scruff of the neck, had his fleet been larger? And now his fleet is larger, while our navy is partially de-natured; but the Kaiser's is for the moment otherwise engaged. Nevertheless, he hasn't at all abandoned the hope of elevating us to his level, even if he does it by proxy. Through his organized hyphens who so happily decide who shall be our President here he hopes to have a say about our preparedness. He doesn't like the idea of our becoming prepared. He prefers us in the juicy

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morsel state. In the *New York Times* of April 5, one of his faithful professors, a specialist in colonial matters, Dr. Paul Rohrbach, of Berlin, writes under the date of January 13, 1916, to a sympathetic hyphen here: "It is perhaps open to question whether German interests would derive benefit from American armaments. In order to form an opinion one would have to be able to foresee what lines German policy will follow after the conclusion of peace, and particularly how our relations with Japan will shape themselves. It seems to me quite conceivable that in an American-Japanese war we should adopt an attitude of very benevolent neutrality toward Japan and thereby make it easier for her to beat America. In that case, why should we help on the American armament policy? I cannot see, therefore, that German political aims would be forwarded *ipso facto* by German-Americans lending themselves to the schemes for American armament."

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So the Kaiser's helpful hyphens stand ready to elevate us to their level, even by way of Japan.

As I write these lines (Thursday, May 18) the afternoon paper brings news most useful to add to the facts gathered here. Remember the war isn't quite going the Kaiser's way. We have felt this for some time. And they didn't blow up the Vanceboro bridge. And they caught the people who were going to blow up the Welland Canal. And the hyphen who forged the affidavits about the *Lusitania* being armed is appropriately and comfortably in jail. And a very interesting lot of checks were found among Von Papen's effects. And, thanks to our secret service, the Administration is knee-deep in proof of other plots and actions of violence, showing the hyphens to have been virtually waging war in this country, destroying property, committing murder. And where the money came from is known; though to give out all this proof to the

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American people is not considered "wise" by the Administration (wise is Secretary Lansing's reported word) at this time — election draws in sight — and the Administration undoubtedly possesses the better part of valor. So on this day the German Embassy announces to us all that, "In consequence of cases which have occurred of late, the German Ambassador has sent instructions to all German Consuls in the United States to strongly impress upon German citizens living in their districts that it is their duty scrupulously to obey the laws of the State in which they reside."

Once again, how childlike and bland! To be sure, this may be "modified" to-morrow quite as readily as Bethmann-Hollweg announced that the latest submarine promise would be, if found inconvenient. But, meantime, let us smile. "In consequence of certain cases that have occurred." Were I a faithful hyphen I should feel hurt that my Kaiser should thus disavow my efficient acts

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both perpetrated and contemplated. And then, how candid the imperial admission that there *have* been perpetrations!

Let us not leave smiling behind us (smiling is so difficult and rare in this grim terrible business) until one or two more instances of the German mind and method are recounted here. Did you know that during November and December, 1914, in Frankfurt-am-Main, great posters were placarded in public places, whereon the encouraged and flattered South German citizens could read the congratulations sent by President Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt to Germany on her splendid victories? The language of these congratulations was greatly admired, and found exquisite. Now, were Mr. Wilson or Mr. Roosevelt to say those messages had been composed in Berlin, what would a German say? He would say (see Herr Albert above) "For a German the fact that an official communication is issued by the Army headquarters is proof sufficient of its

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absolute truth to facts." When the *Lusitania* was torpedoed, Mr. Gilbert K. Chesterton collected the following six Prussian justifications for this act: (*a*) The ship was a troop-ship carrying soldiers from Canada. (*b*) It was a merchant-ship unlawfully carrying munitions for the soldiers in France. (*c*) The passengers had been warned, therefore Germany was justified. (*d*) The ship had guns, and the captain was just going to fire them. (*e*) The ship came up to schedule time, which rendered the temptation to sink it insupportable. (*f*) The ship was not sunk by Germans, but by the English. Mr. Chesterton also quotes a Prussian paper on the subject of bombarding Venice: "That the Italians have a perfect knowledge of the fact that this city of antiquities and tourists is subject, and rightly subject, to attack and bombardment, is proved by the measures they took at the beginning of the war to remove some of their greatest art treasures." "It cannot but dawn

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on you," says Mr. Chesterton, "that there is something wrong in the reasoning by which the placing of diamonds in a safe proves that they are 'rightly subject' to a burglar." ("The Crimes of England," page 18.)

VI

Something wrong in the reasoning! I cannot leave Mr. Chesterton quite yet. Upon that Milwaukee theme of "elevating others to our level" I find a passage in his "Crimes of England" (page 128) that bears so directly, it must be here quoted in part:

"The nature of Pan-Germanism may be allegorised and abbreviated somewhat thus:

"The horse asserts that all other creatures are morally bound to sacrifice their interests to his, on the specific ground that he possesses all noble and necessary qualities, and is an end in himself. It is pointed out in answer that when climbing a tree the horse is less graceful than the cat; that lovers and poets seldom urge the horse to make a noise all night like the nightingale; that when submerged for some

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long time under water, he is less happy than the haddock; and that when he is cut open pearls are less often found in him than in an oyster. He is not content to answer (though, being a muddle-headed horse, he does use this answer also) that having an undivided hoof is more than pearls or oceans or all ascension or song. He reflects for a few years on the subject of cats; and at last discovers in the cat 'the characteristic equine quality of caudality, or a tail'; so that cats *are* horses, and wave on every tree-top the tail which is the equine banner. Nightingales are found to have legs, which explains their power of song. Haddocks are vertebrates; and therefore are sea-horses. And though the oyster outwardly presents dissimilarities which seem to divide him from the horse, he is by the all-filling nature-might of the same horse-moving energy sustained.

"Now this horse is intellectually the wrong horse. It is not perhaps going too far to say that this horse is a donkey. For it is obviously within even the intellectual resources of a haddock to answer, 'But if a haddock is a horse, why should I yield to you any more than you to me? Why should that singing horse commonly called the nightingale, or that climbing horse hitherto known as the cat, fall down and worship you because of your horsehood? If

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all our native faculties are the accomplishments of a horse — why then you are only another horse without any accomplishments?' When thus gently reasoned with, the horse flings up his heels, kicks the cat, crushes the oyster, eats the haddock and pursues the nightingale, and that is how the war began."

VII

Something wrong in the reasoning! Yes; fortunately for Europe, for ourselves, for civilization, there is something wrong in the reasoning. But for this hitch in the machinery, this defect at the very core of the able and cruel Prussian brain, this war would have become for us all like the apocalyptic Day of Judgment — only not with God, but the Beast, sitting on the throne. The horrors that go on, the gas, the liquid fire, and the bellowing of the Creed of the Iron Cross, the Satanic negation of man's two thousand years' struggle towards love and pity — these things at times flood us with the superstitious fancy that out of the bowels of

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darkness the powers of darkness have visibly boiled to destroy once and for all the spirit of light.

And what is the hitch in the machinery which is going to bring the whole hideous apparatus crashing down in ruins? It is that the Prussian brain remains eternally stone blind to what *other* people will think, feel and do. Thus to its undoing is it continually taken by surprise; its calculations don't come off because it has reckoned with quantities to it unknown, with Belgian honor, with English tenacity, with French faith.

Yet this same blind spot holds for ourselves a perfectly possible, though not a highly probable, menace. The Kaiser wishes no war with us. He sees no advantage to be gained thereby. Read in the *New York Times* for April 30 Dr. Dernberg's article addressed to the German people; or read Bethmann-Hollweg's recent speech, published in many papers. It is a pity that so few Americans understand that it is not

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Mr. Wilson, but the Kaiser, who has kept us out of war. But there is a party in Prussia that would like to go to war with us. Should they prevail, what then? Owing to the blind spot in their brains they might suppose that a taste of "frightfulness" in our cities, a sudden blowing up and burning and killing of us by the faithful and organized hyphens, might cow us into being a juicy morsel. They might not have the wisdom to foresee that, though such a state of things might last for two weeks, then indeed would they find themselves a drop in the bucket of infuriated and finally roused millions, and that it would be a swift good-by to Germans in America.

I do not mean those welcome Germans of whom I spoke at the beginning, and who for so many generations have been good citizens. Mr. Rudolf Blakenburg is the best mayor my own city has had within my memory and one of the best and kindest men I have ever known. He came from Germany when a young

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man to cast his lot with our land and its faith. Such as he are not the Germans I mean. I mean the hyphen, the prussianized emissary of *Kultur*, who is here to help Prussia *war against the Citizen*, for such exactly is her war.

We cannot in our Democracy be so drastic as we might to our advantage very well be just now for a while. Alien and sedition laws were necessary once. They would be wholesome to-day. What would be treason in any other country has been perpetrated here repeatedly under our easy-going laws and customs; these hyphens would (and will) join with the pacifists to keep the United States defenseless expressly to aid our possible enemies. This, if not treason, is treachery. But I hope the lesson of this war taught us by the hyphens will wake us up to the new era; that while we welcome the immigrant, we do not allow him our citizenship quite so soon or on such cheap terms; that he must come here with no foreign string to him, but to be

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in heart and soul and mind an American citizen. And we should effectively discourage all papers printed in any foreign tongue which have for their purpose the perpetuation of the string tied to the immigrant, the insulting of our institutions by a nation that is officially friendly, but by her acts at Manila Bay and many other places bitterly hostile to us, and that show any inclination whatever to elevate us to their level.

OWEN WISTER.

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I

THE MORE PERFECT UNION

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I

THE MORE PERFECT UNION

THE last session of the Philadelphia Convention was drawing to a close. The members were signing the final draft of the document which was soon to be submitted for adoption as the Constitution of the United States. Benjamin Franklin, bent with years and honors, and so feeble that he was obliged to call upon his colleague, James Wilson, to read his speeches, was completing his last great service to his country. Looking towards the chair occupied by George Washington, the president of the Convention, he called attention to a picture which had frequently engaged his fancy. It represented a horizon pierced by fiery rays. "Often and often," said he, "have I, in the course of the Convention and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that picture with-

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out being able to tell whether it depicted a rising or a setting sun; but now at length I have the happiness to know that the sun is rising, and not setting."

The issue which Franklin had followed with alternating hope and fear during the three months that the Convention had debated behind closed doors in the old State House involved nothing less than the national existence of the American people. At that time more than half of the white population of the thirteen states was of English stock. Adding those of Scotch and Irish descent, fully three fourths of the white population had ancestors who spoke the English language. They had made English law and customs the basis of the political and social life of the colonies. As a united people they had declared their independence and had fought to preserve for themselves the rights which, as they conceived it, they had brought with them from the mother country. Industrial development had hardly begun, and their

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occupations were but slightly diversified. For the most part they were engaged in a struggle with the elemental forces of nature. The future, of necessity, held much for them in common; for the great unexplored domain which stretched with undefined boundaries to the west and northwest was their joint inheritance.

Opposed to these elements of nationalism were the state governments, which had already given rise to sectional jealousies, and certain classes of the population which had begun to develop peculiar interests of their own.

The Constitution was the triumph of nationalism over these sectional feelings and class interests. As expressed in the preamble, the people ordained it, and ordained it "in order to form a more perfect union." It was designed to fuse the elements of the population into a national whole — an ideal utterly impossible under a confederation of states. When, therefore, the last members of the Convention had put their signatures

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to the document, Franklin realized that the sun was rising, that nationalism was in the ascendant. As soon as all had signed, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Since that memorable day over thirty-two million immigrants have come to our shores. Of this number not more than nine and a half millions represented English-speaking races; the others, nearly twenty-three millions, came with a foreign language upon their lips. To-day over sixteen per cent of the white population of the United States is foreign born. Twenty-four per cent is native born of foreign or mixed parentage. As a result, forty per cent of our white population is made up of those whose Americanism is less than two generations old.

In the large centers the figures are even more startling. In Fall River only one white inhabitant out of seven is a native of native parentage; in New York City, only one out of five; in Cleveland and Detroit, one out of four. In many of our cities there are sections where English

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is practically a foreign language, the inhabitants retaining their native tongue, maintaining their own schools, churches and social organizations, and obtaining their intellectual outlook through newspapers published in the language of their home land. A population originally homogeneous has, in the course of little more than a hundred years, become a complex of nearly all the races and languages of the earth.

The majority of these new arrivals have acquired citizenship. In becoming naturalized they have sworn to support the Constitution. They have solemnly declared themselves in accord with the purposes of the founders of the government. They have adopted as their ideal the formation of a more perfect union, and have pledged themselves to the obliteration of racial, linguistic and all other distinctions that might stand in the way of the development of American nationalism.

The largest element in this immigration, and also the element which has

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availed itself most generally of the opportunities for naturalization, is the German. In a recent address the president of the National German-American Alliance made the claim that German-speaking immigrants and their descendants had contributed no less than thirty millions to our present population, and that they owned to-day in the United States five hundred and twenty-two thousand more farms than the descendants of all other races combined. In view of these statements it is only fair to say that the responsibility for the attainment of the ideal placed before us by the fathers of our country rests more heavily upon this section of our population than upon any other foreign element.

How has this responsibility been discharged in the past? To what extent is the German element to-day coöperating towards the formation of a more perfect union, and the merging of all racial, religious and cultural distinctions in a truly national life?

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II

THE PILGRIMS

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II

THE PILGRIMS

AN incentive similar to that which brought the Pilgrims to New England inspired the German immigrations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1677 William Penn, on one of the missionary tours which he undertook for the purpose of spreading the doctrines of the Quaker sect, happened to visit the Pietists of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Four years later, when he received a grant of land in America, these people corresponded with his agent. A company was formed among them which eventually purchased twenty-five thousand acres of land. In the summer of 1683 the first immigrants, most of them Mennonites whom Penn's preaching had converted to Quakerism, sailed on the

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ship *Concord*. They arrived in Philadelphia on October 6, 1683. That day has since been celebrated by German-Americans as the beginning of their history in this country, and the *Concord* and its passengers have been regarded with something of the same veneration that the *Mayflower* and the Pilgrim Fathers have received from Americans generally.

During the religious and political troubles of the eighteenth century, England and her colonies were the refuge of the persecuted of the continent. In 1709 thirteen thousand inhabitants of the Palatinate fled to London. They were maintained by the English government, and subsequently colonized in New York and the Carolinas. The same was done for the Protestants of Salzburg, Austria, who fled from the persecution of Archbishop Leopold. According to a German scholar, England's humane and generous treatment of these unfortunates will always redound to her glory.

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Many other sects — the Moravians, the Reformed, the Lutherans, the Tunkers, the Schwenkfelders — followed. All were attracted by the same ideal, — freedom of worship after the dictates of their own consciences. In religious belief they had much in common with English denominations. Having no ties to bind them to the old country, they soon adapted themselves to the conditions of the new. At the outbreak of the War of Independence they numbered some two hundred and twenty thousand, and they contributed their full quota to the revolutionary armies. One of the traditions of those stirring times relates how Peter Mühlenberg, pastor of a Lutheran church, mounted his pulpit one Sunday soon after the call to arms had gone forth. At the end of his sermon he admonished his flock that there was a time for prayer, a time for fasting and a time for battle; the time for battle had now come, and casting aside his clerical gown he stood before his congregation in

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the uniform of a colonel of the continental army. The drums beat outside. Four hundred of his parishioners rallied to the standard, and on the fields of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth proved their allegiance to their adopted land.

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III

THE EXILES

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III

THE EXILES

THE high tides of German immigration during the first seventy years of the nineteenth century were marked by the political troubles in the old country, — the suppression of the student societies and turners in 1820, the revolution of 1832 and the more important revolution of 1848. Each of these disturbances sent its quota of political refugees to America. Some sought America merely as a temporary asylum, intending to return when conditions in the old country had improved. Others, despairing of the struggle for national unity and freedom in Germany, hoped to realize their ideals by founding a German state in the American west. The leaders in this movement were Paul Follen and Friedrich Münch, —

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names which in the last few years have been given much prominence by German-American organizations. "We must not," these enthusiasts argued, "leave Germany without at least taking the first steps towards realizing German national unity and freedom; we will lay the foundations of a new and free Germany in the great North American Republic. We will take with us as many as possible of our best people, and will provide for others to follow; thus may we be able to establish in one of the American territories an essentially German state as a refuge for those who have found conditions in Germany intolerable."

Numerous societies were formed to facilitate the immigration necessary to accomplish this purpose. *Niles' Register* remarks in a contemporary paragraph that "a plan is in progress in the southwest of Germany to make up a state and ship it over to America to become the twenty-fifth member of the confederacy." One such state arrived at New York

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with a complete outfit, including a telescope and a town bell, but disintegrated on the long trip to St. Louis. The territories of Arkansas and Wisconsin were at different times selected as the promised land. When Texas declared its independence, the opportunity seemed presented for a peaceful conquest of that sparsely settled country, and several thousand immigrants were sent to the Lone Star state. It is said that the British government favored the scheme, hoping thereby to place a permanent barrier in the way of the further expansion of the United States towards the southwest.

Of all these refugees the "forty-eighters" clung most tenaciously to their language and national ideals. These people have become known in German-American history as the "greens," as distinguished from the older settlers, who were dubbed the "grays." The "greens" severely upbraided their countrymen who had preceded them for having allowed

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themselves to become Americanized, and they made serious efforts to retard further assimilation. As Germans they felt they had a mission to fulfill, and that mission was nothing less than the complete Germanizing of the United States. This was to be accomplished through their intellectual superiority, their claims to which, though undoubtedly justified in some instances, they made no efforts to conceal, — and also by founding German communities, and from these as centers making their influence felt throughout the country. At one time it was proposed to concentrate immigration in Wisconsin until through a preponderance of the population they had succeeded in replacing English with German as the language of the courts, of the legislature and of the schools. Some of the enthusiasts went so far as to forecast the time when the United States, having come under the influence of German ideas, would extend its sway throughout the world. The Ger-

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man people would in that indirect way realize their ambition for world dominion.

But as the years passed, the vision of these exiles faded and grew dim. A new Germany, free and powerful, seemed an impossibility; a transplanted Germany, in the form of a state set down in the western wilderness, dissolved upon contact with the realities of the frontier; German communities could not maintain their solidarity amid the complexities of industrial life; and the dreamers were left with the empire of the German spirit, the romantic Germany of the bards and singers, the world of the philosophers and poets. And when, after hopes deferred and years of waiting, the man arrived who through the stern discipline of blood and iron was to weld the principalities of Germany into an empire, there had appeared in America one of the most tragic and compelling figures of all history. Bismarck was forgotten and the exiles rallied to the call of Lincoln.

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IV

KULTURPOLITIK

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IV

KULTURPOLITIK

THE succeeding immigration differed materially from those that have been described. The earlier immigrants had brought with them bitter memories of German disunion and of the tyrannies and persecutions of their petty princes. Pride of nationality they had in some degree, but none of state or country. The less educated, lacking the political vision and ambitions of the revolutionaries, had scarcely more than family sentiment to bind them to their old homes. To them America was the great country of freedom, of religious liberty, of opportunity, the promised land of all their dreams. Their old allegiance, together with all that it implied, they were glad and anxious to cast aside as a loathed garment. But the great waves of Ger-

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man immigration, which, gathering volume in the 70's, finally reached their flood in the 80's, came from entirely different impulses. Neither national ideals, political freedom nor religious liberty was uppermost in the minds of these strangers. Germany had been united. What Bismarck termed "the tragedy of the ages" had been repaired. The empire furnished a concrete expression for German national aspirations. No longer as outcasts did these wanderers approach our shores, but as representatives of a state of whose achievements they were proud and of whose future they vaguely hoped to remain a part. National and political aspirations had been fulfilled, — what they asked from America, primarily, was material benefits.

A spiritual change came over Germany. The will to power, enthralled from the time that the last Hohenstaufen met his fate on the scaffold in Naples, was emancipated. This had been accomplished largely by merging the individual in the

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state, and by making the State synonymous with the Hohenzollern dynasty. But this was overlooked in the enthusiasm for the new-found strength, and German professors set to work to square theory with fact. "The State is a person," exclaims Bluntschli. More than that, it is a man, not a woman, and possesses all the primal male attributes of positive action on environment. It owes no responsibility and must be ruthless in accomplishing its destiny.

With these vital forces of the nation organized and ready to be released, the educated men surveyed the past and present. Spain, France and England had each had its day. They had each boasted a world dominion. Each had in turn succumbed to its successor. England, the last, had long since lost its preëminence in every field of human endeavor. The British empire was held in palsied hands which required only the effort of youth to strike down. Each of these conquering nations had, however,

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through its culture, language and institutions, struck deep root in foreign soil. German culture would therefore have to establish itself in order to pave the way for commerce and political control. To do this required organized effort. Every German in a position of influence in a foreign land, whether as an educator, a professional man, a clergyman, a technician or a director of industrial enterprises, represented an outlay of productive capital. It was the task of these men to make known the aims and content of German culture in all its branches, from the tilling of the soil to the philosophy of life, from the technique of mechanics to the technique of statesmanship, so that the desire to acquire the benefits of this culture might be stimulated. The respect which they earned through the thoroughness of their achievement would redound to the prestige of the empire, and the influence which they thus acquired was to be an asset in the achievement of

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national ideals. The conscious direction of these influences is what Germans call *Kulturpolitik*, a word which has no English equivalent, for the reason that the whole idea is a German invention.

Equally important was it to retain at least the spiritual and intellectual allegiance of German emigrants. In 1881 there was organized the "Educational Alliance for the Preservation of German Culture in Foreign Lands" (*Allgemeiner deutscher Schulverein zur Exhaltung des Deutschthums im Auslande*). "Not a man can we spare," so reads its declaration of principles, — "if we expect to hold our own against the one hundred and twenty-five millions who already speak the English language and who have preëmpted the most desirable fields for expansion." A similar thought inspired the Pan-German Alliance (*Alldeutscher Verband*). It aims to preserve German language and culture, to vitalize the German national sentiment throughout the world and to support Germans

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wherever, in a distant land, they are struggling to preserve their solidarity against a foreign civilization. "The German people is a race of rulers," so they declare. "As such it must be respected everywhere in the world. The Alliance does not believe that German national development ended with the results of the war of 1870, great and glorious though they were. It is rather convinced that, with the position then won, there has come a multitude of new and greater duties, to neglect which would mean the decadence of our people." A number of branches of this society, as well as of the Navy League (*Flottenverein*), were established in the United States.

The educated Germans had become imbued with these ideas before leaving the old country, and they now kept in touch with their development. Journalists and clergymen naturally found it to their interests to encourage German traditions and the use of the German language. The circulation of their news-

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papers and the membership of their churches depended upon these conditions. The most potent influence, however, in *Kulturpolitik* has been the men who, in constantly increasing numbers, have come to occupy positions in our universities, colleges and public and private schools. Being, by virtue of their profession, less exposed to assimilative influences, they form the outposts of Germanism in the United States.

It was about twenty years ago that voices of the new Germany were first heard in this country. The Spanish-American war at one stroke destroyed the isolation of the United States. The part she would play on the stage of world politics became a matter of vital interest. American ideas of colonial expansion and of responsibility towards foreign races approached to those which had built up the British Empire. Many points of contact between American institutions and those of England were brought to consciousness. Cecil Rhodes, dying,

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left a will which provided a means for closer intellectual and cultural association between the United States and Great Britain. Kipling celebrated in verse the mission of the Anglo-Saxon people. Much was said about Anglo-Saxon unity, a phrase which Germans interpreted as Anglo-Saxon imperialism.

This was the beginning of the struggle. It was the signal for the mobilization of the forces of *Kulturpolitik* in this country. Anglo-Saxon unity, or even a closer understanding between the branches of that race, was seen as an insuperable obstacle in the way of German plans for world dominion. Journalists, clergymen, educators, began to agitate among their countrymen for the solidarity of the German element, the preservation of the German language and the spread of German culture. Their appeals found a ready response among the later arrivals and even engaged the attention of the older element, who, though having no interest in Germany as an empire, still

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cherished the memory of the Fatherland as the home of Goethe, Schiller, of Grimm's Fairy Tales, of the philosophers and musicians. Men holding chairs in our universities, permeated with the teaching of Treitschke, Droysen and other modern German historians, pointed to what they regarded as signs of the impending dissolution of the British Empire; the costly Boer war had drained its strength; the discontent in India, the troubles in Ireland, were undermining its constitution; Germany was destined to overthrow the palsied colossus and succeed it as a world empire; German culture would then be supreme, the German language the universal tongue. Anglo-Saxon civilization the agitators both disparaged as decadent and, like Treitschke, cordially hated. Puritanism, to them the essence of hypocrisy, represented its most odious phase. They proclaimed that only in a political and geographical sense had they become Americans with the oath of naturaliza-

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tion, — in all other respects they remained Germans; they condemned any approach to assimilation and decried the moral of Zangwill's *Melting Pot.* Some sought to give the propaganda a patriotic guise by declaring that it was the sacred mission of the German element to guard themselves, their language and their culture from native influences in order that as a chosen people they might save America from the decay which was destroying the vitals of everything Anglo-Saxon. The media for the propaganda were the lecture platform, the German newspapers, German societies, churches and schools. A German who had served as a member of the Reichstag began the publication in New York of a monthly magazine as the special exponent of these ideas.

Organizations of every kind have always been a feature of German life in America. The national "Sängerbund" was organized in 1849. The turners organized as far back as 1848, and have

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had a national alliance since 1850, and to-day boast forty thousand members, with a normal school in Indianapolis. In 1870 the association of German teachers (*Deutsch-amerikanischer Lehrerbund*) was formed and soon after that a training school was established in Milwaukee. In 1885 a national organization of German schools (*National deutsch-amerikanischer Schulverein*) was started, but met with the opposition of the older element who, while they favored the propaganda for the German language in parts of Austria and Hungary, could see no reason for such a movement in the United States. There are associations of German veterans and reservists, many mutual aid and benefit societies, the well-known singing societies and innumerable other organizations.

Under the influence of the new propaganda all these societies were brought into closer touch with each other. In 1899 the German societies of Pennsylvania formed a state federation known as

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the German-American Central Alliance. This suggested a national organization, and in the following year delegates from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Minnesota assembled in Philadelphia and formed a temporary association. In 1901, on the anniversary of the landing of the *Concord* pilgrims, a permanent organization was perfected, known as the National German-American Alliance. This achievement the promoters regard as of the greatest importance for the future of the German element in the United States.

According to its constitution the membership of the Alliance is made up of state and local alliances. German societies everywhere have been urged to unite in local and state federations. It is only where city and state federations have not been organized that individual societies are taken into membership. The work of organization has been prosecuted with vigor in the last few years, with the result that there is now a state

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federation in every state of the Union, and every city of importance has its *Stadtverband*, made up of delegates of local organizations. The Alliance is supported by a per capita levy upon the membership of all component societies. In 1907 it was incorporated by act of Congress, and it now claims to reach, through its subordinate state and local federations and individual societies, not less than two million five hundred thousand Germans.

The principal objects of the Alliance, as officially announced, are to awaken and strengthen the sense of unity among the people of German origin in America; to check nativistic encroachments; to maintain and safeguard friendly relations between America and Germany; to augment the influence of German culture by encouraging the use of the German language and making its teaching in the public schools compulsory; to introduce into school histories a proper estimate of the work of German pioneers and of

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their part in developing our institutions; to oppose restrictions upon immigration; to liberalize our naturalization laws by removing knowledge of the English language and other educational tests as requirements of citizenship; and, finally, to combat Puritan influences, particularly invasions of personal liberty in the form of restrictions upon the liquor traffic. The Alliance is pledged to bring its entire organization to the support of any state federation which is engaged in a struggle for any of these objects.

"We must be united, united, united, — every petty jealousy, every local interest must be forgotten," the officers of the Alliance have repeatedly admonished their members. From the point of view of the American who is interested solely in the amalgamation of races in a more perfect union and in the highest development of our national life, it is difficult to understand what exigency requires the awakening and strengthening of the sense of unity among citizens of German

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origin. If the Alliance professes patriotic purposes, why should it aim to develop a solidarity within racial lines? Why should the sense of unity be encouraged among Germans, and if among Germans, why not among those citizens who happen to be of English, Canadian, Russian or Italian descent?

Equally difficult is it to understand the need of such an organization for resisting "nativistic encroachments." Long before the Alliance came into existence, German citizens, from Michael Hillegas, the first Treasurer of the Continental Congress, to Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior in Hayes' administration, have been welcomed to the highest offices in the gift of the people. From the time the Know-Nothing movement collapsed — a movement which was called into being in large measure by the separatist ideals of the immigrants of 1832 and 1848 — Americans have kept their politics aloof from racial or religious distinctions, and those who have trespassed this

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unwritten law have received prompt and merited rebuke. A people that had emancipated the negro and had encouraged him to aspire to position certainly could not be accused of racial antipathies.

From the beginning, however, the Alliance has repeatedly called attention to what it has termed the hateful attacks and jealousies of the native American element, and the unfair attitude of the Anglo-American press. These purely imaginary antagonisms have been put forward as demanding a closer organization of the German element. In fact, one unacquainted with conditions in America, who read the reports of the Alliance from year to year, would come to the conclusion that the natives were a particularly aggressive and quarrelsome section of the population, that they had oppressed the German element, denied them their proper share in politics, had arbitrarily sought to make the English language supreme to the prejudice

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of the German, had prevented a due acknowledgment of what Germans had accomplished in the development of the country and had sought to disparage them in every way. But neither the Alliance nor any one else can name a single, concrete instance occurring within the last fifty years showing discrimination against any German citizen because of his origin. If, unfortunately, such discrimination ever should occur, it can be attributed solely to the fact that a small portion of the German population has itself raised the issue and drawn the line. Germans, as a rule, have been little inclined toward politics, and for that very reason any one of this race who has offered himself as a candidate for public office has generally received special consideration from the independent, thinking voters. The mayors of at least a dozen of our large cities can testify to this fact.

There is nothing in the conditions in this country which would offer an excuse

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for this movement. Its mainsprings must be found elsewhere, and when we examine more closely, we come upon the pervading influence of *Kulturpolitik*. "Our own prestige depends upon the prestige of the Fatherland, and for that reason we cannot allow any disparagement of Germany to go unpunished" reads a report published in the proceedings of the Alliance. "German-Americans will soon experience a new epoch in their relations to Germany," says Professor Kuehnemann, of the University of Breslau, who has been lecturing for the last two years before German societies under the auspices of the Alliance. "Soon the German, just as has long been the case with the Englishman, will think of the world when his country is mentioned. A world Germanism will evolve, and to foster this world Germanism will be the problem of Germans in every country of the globe. In 1870 Germans began to come to self-consciousness, but in the great years 1914 and 1915 this feeling

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of greatness has grown. . . . The Germans in America can offer their Fatherland no greater evidence of faithfulness than by working to the end of keeping America aloof from England."

The Alliance has simply made itself a part of the Teutonic battle line in the struggle against Anglo-Saxon leadership which German historians have been predicting for so many years. The officers have themselves called attention to this racial issue: "The National Alliance," so declared a recent number of the official Bulletin, "is waging war against Anglo-Saxonism, against the fanatical enemies of personal liberty and political freedom; it is combating narrow-minded, benighted know-nothingism, the influence of the British, and the enslaving Puritanism which had its birth in England."

This was indicated by the position the Alliance took in opposition to the treaty of arbitration with England, and in the attempts it has repeatedly made

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to disparage and frustrate every movement looking to a better understanding among English-speaking nations. "German, German to the core," is the watchword proclaimed by the New York *Staatszeitung*, the most influential German daily in the United States. This newspaper denounced the Young amendment to the New York constitution which proposed to make the ability to read and write the English language a requirement for suffrage. "It is a pro-British propaganda," it declared, "and it will not cease with the end of the war, but will only begin at that time. It affects, primarily, us Americans of German blood who, in this war also, will be put upon our own resources. The race war which we will be compelled to go through on American soil will be our world war."

One of the most important parts of the program of the Alliance is the introduction of German teaching in the public schools. "Germanization is synonymous with causing to speak German, and

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speaking German means to remain German," says Ludwig Fulda, in his book, *American Impressions*. A standing committee of the Alliance gives this subject continual attention. They have recommended the teaching of German from the first grade up; for, as they say, it is absolutely necessary for the German language to obtain a firm foothold in the public schools if it is to have a future in the United states. The National Alliance, at every convention, and also by means of circulars and pamphlets, has called upon the state federations to work energetically for the enactment of laws which shall make the teaching of German compulsory. The local societies are urged to acquaint themselves fully with the State laws in regard to German instruction, to take active steps to compel school boards to put it in the curriculum, and after this has been done to give every assistance to the teachers and to encourage the pupils by offers of prizes for scholarship. German parents are urged

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to send their children to the German classes and to popularize this instruction among their neighbors.

In this work, the state federation of Nebraska has been the most active, and it has been held up as a model to the other organizations of the Alliance. By an agitation conducted through its local branches, it brought about the enactment of a law making the teaching of a foreign language in the grades above the fourth compulsory when the parents of fifty children attending any school, by petition in writing, demanded it. Local societies immediately became active in circulating petitions asking for German instruction. In Nebraska City a lodge of the Sons of Herman secured the necessary names and presented the request to the school board. The latter, however, demurred after an investigation showed that less than one third of those signing the petition intended to have their children take advantage of the courses. The state alliance employed counsel,

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and the board was compelled by a writ of mandamus to comply with the request. The case was carried to the supreme court, where the validity of the law was finally upheld. After the teachers had been employed, a total of only seventy-nine pupils in three schools enrolled in the German classes.

In the city of Omaha, however, German teaching has met with better success. The state organizer of the Nebraska federation of German societies visited the schools recently and was more than pleased with what he found: the children were acquiring a typically Berlin accent, sung a number of German songs to his entire approval and finally ended by rendering *Die Wacht am Rhein* with an enthusiasm and a gusto which could not be excelled among children of the Fatherland. Four years ago Nebraska had only ninety high schools which offered instruction in German. To-day, so the Alliance reports, German is taught in two hundred and twenty-two high schools

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and in the grade schools of nine cities. Omaha alone has thirty-five hundred pupils taking German instruction. In addition to this the state federation has been successful in obtaining an appropriation for the purchase of German books for the state circulating library. Germans have been urged to call for such books, in order to convince the state librarian that there is a popular demand and to induce further progress in this direction.

Indiana and Ohio have laws similar to the law of Nebraska. Other states, such as Wisconsin and Illinois, give the boards of education power to introduce foreign language instruction by a majority resolution. In these localities, German societies have importuned the authorities to make such provision for German teaching. Not long ago the Illinois *Staatszeitung* canvassed the membership of the Chicago board of education to learn their attitude on this subject, with the intimation that an unfavorable re-

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sponse would concentrate the opposition of the German electors. It is said that twenty thousand pupils are taking German in the grade schools of Chicago and that the number is rapidly increasing.

Another feature of the educational program is the effort to place German on the same footing with Latin in the entrance requirements of state universities. This has been accomplished in Nebraska, where either German or Latin can now be offered for matriculation.

The value of language as an influence for the conservation of Germanism has been repeatedly emphasized. A representative of the Alliance, who recently inspected German schools in the middle west, reported that wherever these schools prospered the children remained German in spirit and sentiment, even to the third generation, and the *Bulletin* points out that the population of German origin in this section is so strong that German would undoubtedly be the common tongue had Germans clung to their

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language as tenaciously as have the English.

In order to meet the demand for German teachers, which it is expected the agitation will produce, the Alliance renders active support and encouragement to the Milwaukee training school, and has undertaken to raise for it an endowment fund of $100,000. The Alliance's standing committee on historical study examines textbooks to assure itself that the German element is given proper consideration. At the recent national convention it recommended the introduction of the study of German history in the public schools "for the reason that only with a knowledge of the history of German politics and culture could an understanding of American history be acquired." Recognizing, moreover, the fact that the permanence of the German spirit in this country is dependent largely upon the extent to which the children of German families are brought under its influence, the Alliance has

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organized a standing committee of women. This committee has an organizer who travels for the purpose of keeping German ideals before women's societies and encouraging the use of the German language in the home. A further bulwark for this spirit has been provided in the "junior order" of the Alliance, with its appeal to young men and youths. There has also been organized the "Daughters of German Pioneers" for the purpose of instilling in the minds of the young women a pride in their German ancestry and a desire to preserve German customs. The crowning piece to this entire structure for the preservation of the German language is a university modeled on the lines of those in the empire, and in which the German language, literature and culture would be given special emphasis and prominence. The project has been brought forward at several national conventions, but the time has been deemed not yet ripe for its execution.

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Related to the propaganda for language is that for the German press. There is no question but that the German press had a place and a mission in the United States. It served as a needed intermediary between the masses of German immigrants and their new environment. Beyond this, however, it possesses no field of usefulness. The hopes of a German-American literature, entertained by some of the enthusiasts of 1832 and 1848, have never been realized. It would be difficult to find a German book, produced in this country, which the Germans themselves would claim was entitled to even a humble place in literature. Very few native-born German-Americans have become German writers of even average ability.

The periodicals of the Fatherland have never entertained a high regard for German-American journalism. There have been frequent and bitter complaints that the only articles of merit it has put forth are those pilfered, often without

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even the courtesy of acknowledgment, from the columns of the German press. From 1890 the number of German newspapers in the United States has been dropping off, and their combined circulation, until the war broke out, had been dwindling.

From the beginning the Alliance has tried to arrest this decline. It argued that the success of German teaching and the prosperity of the German press go hand in hand. Where teaching is popular, the German press prospers, and parents have repeatedly been urged to encourage their children to read German papers. It is urged, too, that these are the only weapons which the German element possesses with which to combat what is termed in a recent manifesto, drawn up in English, "the virulent journalist ambuscades of the Anglo-American press." The convention of the Alliance in 1911 adopted the report of its standing committee on the German press, which asked that an urgent appeal be sent to

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all local societies and their members to support German newspapers in every possible way. They were the faithful allies of the German cause, the exponents of German ideals. Not only should members subscribe for such papers, but German business men were urged to support them with their advertising patronage.

There are about six hundred German periodicals published in the United States. The German-American Press Association of the West (*Deutsch-amerikanischer Pressverband des Westens*), which covers the states of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Minnesota and South Dakota, is organized on lines similar to those of the Alliance. In order to come into closer touch with this organization, it was recently decided to hold the meetings of the state press associations at the same times and places as might be selected by the branches of the Alliance, and it was also decided to send delegates to the national convention. Similar organiza-

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tions cover other parts of the country. A few months ago, representatives of the German press from all parts of the United States met in Chicago to perfect plans for the organization of a national association. The group included, besides the editors of such well-known papers as the New York *Staatszeitung* and the Illinois *Staatszeitung*, the editor of the *Fatherland* and the editor of the official *Bulletin* of the Alliance. The meeting was secret, but plans were laid for a cable and wireless service from Germany and for the distribution of this service from a central bureau in New York, and for a special news service from Washington.

Prohibition appears to have been the favorite bugbear of the Alliance from the beginning. It would be hard to equal the bitterness of the opposition to this movement. A "shameful and despicable propaganda," a "criminal activity," the "work of a dark brood," are some of the epithets which the official

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Bulletin of the Alliance reports its members as using. In some way it has come to be regarded as directed especially against the German element. "The question involves the existence of the German people in the United States just as the existence of Germany and Austria are at stake on the battle fields of Europe," declared the president of the Alliance recently. "In order to obtain for German-Americanism the place in the sun which has always been denied it, it is absolutely essential that personal liberty be guaranteed and that it be not curtailed by the attacks of nativists and prohibitionists." This opposition is due to the belief that prohibition is peculiarly representative of Puritanism, and Puritanism, to their minds, is the typical product of the Anglo-Saxon spirit. The standing committee on historical study apparently has not informed the Alliance that some of the early German pilgrims were far stricter in their religious beliefs and practices than the Puritans them-

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selves. One denomination went so far as to prohibit the use of buttons as a vanity and an inspiration of the devil.

To accomplish these purposes, in particular to establish the German language in the public schools and to defeat prohibition, there has been free recourse to the ballot. It has been made the duty of every subordinate society to see to it that its members become voters as soon as possible. "Become citizens and exercise your right to suffrage, accept public offices and support German candidates," is the constant admonition. Every society and federation has taken active part in the liquor campaigns of recent years. They have voted solidly for liberal candidates for office as opposed to those who favored prohibition.

The effect of this persistent activity could have been anticipated from the beginning. It has resulted, among those German-Americans who have come under its influence, in placing the ideals of German-Americanism above the ideals

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of American citizenship. Fortunately, these constitute only a small minority of the German element. "As German-Americans," declared the president of the Alliance at the 1911 convention, "we are a people that can look back upon a glorious past and can look forward with confidence to a no less brilliant future; as Americans, on the other hand, we are merely an unknown quantity in the great racial jumble of this land. Let us, therefore, with united energies and with every available means, battle for the preservation of our racial character and of its intellectual achievements." "We are proud to call ourselves citizens of this Republic," said the president of the Wisconsin federation recently, "but we are still prouder to be German-Americans. The hyphen is for us an honor and we carry it as a distinction."

When the German immigrant files his petition for naturalization, he makes the declaration that he is attached to the principles of the Constitution of the

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United States. The law requires that two witnesses corroborate this declaration. When the petition has been approved, the applicant takes an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign or domestic, and to bear them true faith and allegiance. A propaganda which seeks to consolidate the sentiments and energies of a section of population within racial lines evidences little attachment to these principles. It strikes a blow at the very heart of national life. It renders impossible a more perfect union.

It is in entire harmony with the aims of *Kulturpolitik*. But it strikes down the ideals of the founders of the Republic.

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V

COUNSELS OF DISUNION

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V

COUNSELS OF DISUNION

ALL these activities, like the discontent in Ireland and the support given to it by the Irish-American societies in the United States, if not fostered, were carefully noted by the German government and set down as valuable assets in the event of war. Several years ago, the Kaiser conferred upon the president of the National German-American Alliance the rank of the fourth class of the Order of the Red Eagle — not a high honor, to be sure, but a recognition of the value of his services to German *Kultur*.

In 1911, in his book, "Germany and the Next War," General von Bernhardi demonstrated how, in the future, the importance of Germany will depend on two things: firstly, how many millions

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of men in the world speak German; and, secondly, how many of these are political members of the German empire. "Measures must be taken," he said, "at least to the extent of providing that the German element is not split up in the world, but remains united, in compact blocks, and thus forms, even in foreign countries, political centers of gravity in our favor." He refers to the political usefulness to Germany of the German population in the United States: "The further duty of supporting Germans in foreign countries in their struggle for existence and of thus keeping them loyal to their nationality, is one from which, in our own immediate interests, we cannot withdraw. The isolated groups of Germans abroad greatly benefit our trade, since by preference they obtain their goods from Germany; but they may also be useful to us politically, as we discover in America. The German-Americans have formed a political alliance with the Irish, and, thus united,

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constitute a power in the state with which the American government must reckon." He cites, as a concrete instance of the usefulness of these elements to German policy, the defeat of the arbitration treaty with England which was proposed by President Taft. This received the combined opposition of the National German-American Alliance and of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Leaders of the Alliance have always taken umbrage at references to Bernhardi's book and have sought to convince Americans that Bernhardi was little known in Germany, enjoyed no popularity, and that his book had only a very limited circulation. Whether this is true or not is of little importance, — the outstanding fact is that Bernhardi's ideas as to Germany's future and her unavoidable destiny of world power or downfall, and the importance to that future of the preservation of the German language and the solidarity of the German element in foreign lands, are so

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pronounced among the representatives of the later German immigration that many of their utterances, both before and after the war, sound like paraphrases of Bernhardi's pages.

The predictions of Bernhardi and the anticipations entertained of the advantages of *Kulturpolitik* have been fully justified. Immediately after the outbreak of the war, the National German-American Alliance made the cause of Germany its own, and, further, sought to identify with it the entire German element. The leaders pointed out again and again that the position and the influence of the German element in the United States depended upon the outcome of the war in Europe. With Germany's victory, the prestige of that element would be augmented; with her defeat, Germanism in the United States would inevitably succumb. The enemy of both was the same — "perfidious Albion" — the nation which on the battlefields of Europe was seeking the

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destruction of the German people and here in the United States was contriving the suppression of German influence, the extinction of the German language and the curtailment of personal liberty through the prohibition propaganda.

The Alliance's campaign for membership took on new vigor. An address was issued to the Americans of German origin, calling upon them to come to a consciousness of their unity, to hold fast to the language, the customs and the culture of their fathers, and urging them as a patriotic duty to affiliate with the Alliance. "Germanism is embattled against half the world," said the campaigners, "and we German-Americans owe it to our race to stand our ground as manfully as our brothers across the sea. We must be the hammer or the anvil, we must up and strike or receive the blow and perish." In a speech before ten thousand Germans, who packed the largest hall in Milwaukee, the president expressed the position of the Alliance:

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"We have before us a bitter struggle, and we can wage it successfully only if we are united — a united race of brothers. The period of misunderstanding and jealousies in our societies and organizations must cease. Every disturbing influence must be set aside, and every one of us must enter upon the battle for our ideals with his whole heart and soul. . . . We have long suffered the preachment that 'you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge in the American people'; but no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior culture. No! We have made it our aim to elevate the others to our level. We have in this land experienced different historical epochs, epochs which I may compare with the days of the week. There was first the Spanish day, which in reality was no day at all, but an impenetrable night, darkly illumined by the tragic fires of the *auto-de-fés*. Then came the French day; a day of manly struggle

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and excited activity. But this activity was feverish, carried out as if under the influence of a champagne intoxication, and like all intoxications it was followed by a characteristic reaction. Then there came upon our people the day of severe labor, the day that rose gray from the fog, and in which everything received a sombre hue. That day, the English day, taught us much, but it also cost us immeasurable suffering. And now there comes a day in which the birds sing, where the blue heavens smile, in which labor and joy unite, the German day! . . .

"We will not allow our two thousand year culture to be trodden down in this land. Many are giving our German culture to this land of their children, but that is possible only if we stand together and conquer that dark spirit of muckerdom and prohibition, just as Siegfried slew the dragon. Let us stand up for our good right and hold together. Every society is as strong as the weakest member in the chain. Who would be weak?

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Be strong! Let everyone be strong who stands forth for German culture. Be strong, and German. Remember, you German pioneers, that we are giving to this people the best the earth affords, the benefits of German *Kultur*."

A vigorous campaign was also inaugurated for the purpose of convincing Americans that their interests coincided with those of the Central Powers and that they would be subserved by German success. German professors in our colleges argued from the platform that the downfall of Germany would be an irreparable disaster to American culture in that American culture was more closely related to the higher civilization of Germany than to that of any other European nation. In the endeavor to excite hostility against England, old disputes were revived. Newspaper files were assiduously searched and the journalistic tirades to which past controversies had given rise were dragged forth from dusty oblivion and offered for the

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regalement of the American public. Hindu lecturers who gave accounts detrimental to British administration in India were encouraged. The specter of a war with Japan, England's ally, was paraded before the public. The officers of the Alliance were officious in taking up the complaints of those citizens whose property had been held up by the British blockade and in presenting them to the State Department. German societies in the south urged the cotton growers to insist upon the right to ship their product to Germany unless this country placed an embargo upon munitions. Americans were again and again reminded that while this country had fought two wars with England, it had always been on friendly relations with Germany. England, throughout our history, had been the tyrant of the seas, the sworn enemy of America. Now was the time to destroy her supremacy and for the United States to declare her naval and maritime independence.

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As a part of this program for arousing hostility towards England the Alliance agitated for the celebration of October 19, the date of the capitulation of Yorktown, as "American Day." They asked that laws for the observance of this anniversary be introduced and that teachers be instructed to impart to their pupils its significance from books "not written from the English standpoint." As Americans seemed so apathetic to their own glorious past, a group of German sympathizers met in Washington and organized the "American Independence Union," with a citizen of German birth at its head, for the purpose of promoting "true and purposeful independence of Great Britain and the observance of genuine neutrality by the prohibition of the export of munitions." In view of the fact that hardly one of the agitators could boast an Americanism which went back more than two generations, and that the majority of them were, in fact, foreign born, it is small wonder that the

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descendants of those Englishmen, Germans, and other colonists, who actually fought to achieve American Independence, paid little attention to all this bombast. The thin disguise was too easily penetrated and the lineaments of *Kulturpolitik* altogether too apparent.

However innocent the purpose of the American Independence Union may have appeared in this country, there was no mistake as to its real purpose in Germany. It was viewed as a movement distinctly for the advantage of the Central Powers. Dr. Kuno Francke, curator of the Germanic Museum in Harvard, refused to take part in the organization. For this he was bitterly attacked by German-Americans in this country. Dr. Eduard Meyer, at one time Exchange Professor at Harvard, in an article in the *Vossische Zeitung*, assailed him for the position he had taken and denounced him as having struck his countrymen a blow in the back.

Soon after the outbreak of the war,

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the Alliance sent resolutions to every newspaper in the United States, demanding that it follow a policy of impartiality in its treatment of the German cause. The thoroughness of the organization was demonstrated when German press committees sprang up simultaneously all over the country and communications began to pour in upon editors, calling their attention to alleged misstatements and demanding immediate retraction. When these demands were not complied with, cancellations of subscriptions followed, and finally, when this did not bring about a revulsion of sentiment in favor of Germany, the entire American press was denounced as controlled by British capital and suborned by the reptile brood of Downing Street. The *Outlook*, they said, was subsidized; the *Ladies' Home Journal* was inspired by the spirit of the most fanatical hatred towards Germany; the *Saturday Evening Post* was at one time favorable but had changed its attitude, due, no doubt, to the large

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accessions of munition advertisements which appeared in its columns; and as for such bedaubed sheets as *Collier's*, *Life*, *The Metropolitan* and *McClure's*, every German should close his doors hermetically against their influence. "I take German papers only," declared the President of the Ohio Federation. "When we have emerged victorious from this war, we Germans will be hated for fifty years."

As a result of this boycott, it was said that English newspapers lost materially, both in circulation and advertising. The New York *Staatszeitung* claims to have gained more readers during the last two years than any other daily in the United States.

In the first week of the war, a publication made its appearance under the title of *The Fatherland*. It would be grossly unfair to judge the German-American element as a whole by the performances of this sheet, but inasmuch as it has received the endorsement of the

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National Alliance and the support of many local societies, whose members have been frequently urged to subscribe for it, it must be taken as fairly representing the attitude of those who are only geographically and politically Americans. Both editors are foreign born. It was started by means of voluntary contributions by pro-Germans, but so successfully did it play upon their passions that it was soon found to be a profitable enterprise, and it is now owned by an incorporated company.

No journal printed in the United States has ever, in a time of national danger, been so vicious in its attacks upon the attitude taken by our government towards a foreign power, or so anti-American in the support given to the position of the foreign government in the controversy. Not only has the President been denounced as a "weak-kneed sophist," the State Department as criminally incompetent, but in commenting on this government's reply to the

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protest of the German Ambassador on our attitude towards the shipment of war materials, the *Fatherland* declared that "a sillier or more dishonest statement was never issued by an American official. It is the most dishonest document that was ever submitted by one great government to another. . . . Good faith on the part of the United States in its relations with Germany is a thing which does not exist." The German reply on the *Lusitania* case, on the other hand, was lauded as an "inspiring document, on a high plane of humanity, unassailable in logic."

The brutal violation of Belgian neutrality had turned the sympathy of Americans from Germany and Germany's future course was such as to intensify that aversion. When the pro-German appeals found no response in popular opinion, other measures were resorted to. "We have long since given up the attempt to convert the Anglo-Americans — we must now awe them with our

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power," advised the *Westliche Post.* "To impress them is the main thing," commented the official *Bulletin.* "The greater any demonstration, the more permanent the impression, the sooner the demands of the German element will be acceded to and the greater the respect entertained for them in political circles." Accordingly, mass meetings were promoted which every loyal German was urged to attend. Some of these assemblages were so intemperate in their attacks upon the policies of the government and upon American citizens who disagreed with the German-American program, that one member of the Alliance's speaking staff — a professor from a German university who addressed these meetings — expressed surprise that arrests did not follow. Of course, he had in mind the restrictions to which his noisy countrymen would have been subjected had they been holding their meetings in their own beloved Fatherland — they would have been

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obliged to give twenty-four hours' notice of the time and the place of the meeting, in order that two members of the police might be in attendance, and no language except the official language, German, could have been used under penalty of having the meeting broken up and fines and imprisonment imposed upon the offenders.

Germany had hoped, by striking her enemies unprepared both in men and munitions, to achieve an early and decisive victory. As the months passed all such hopes were dashed. Her navy was swept from the seas, and provisions and equipment began to reach the Allies in constantly increasing volume from the United States. There now developed the embargo agitation which has engaged the attention of pro-Germans ever since. Resolutions favoring the interdiction of the munitions traffic were introduced in Congress by certain German-American members. This action was followed up by the summons sent out by the Alli-

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ance to every local organization to bombard the members of Congress and particularly the members of the committee on foreign relations with petitions demanding their adoption. Just as the 42-centimeter gun was used in blasting the way for the German armies, so petitions and protests have formed the heavy artillery of the German campaign in the United States. Ammunition has never been lacking, for the organizers of the pro-German movement have always supplied the exact form for every petition, letter and telegram, so that nothing was left to the hazard of the personal equation except the signature. Like the shells from a battery, they are exact duplicates. Members of Congress have learned to recognize the propaganda from its very apparent mechanical perfection.

To strengthen the impression of an overwhelming popular opinion the Alliance urged all its local societies to form so-called "Neutrality Leagues." These were expected to denounce the shipment

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of munitions on humanitarian grounds and also as a breach of neutrality, and to insist upon the passage of resolutions in Congress. Members at the same time were cautioned to use the names of Anglo-Americans for the official positions in these societies. This they were not able to do, and the German names which appeared everywhere soon aroused suspicion as to the purpose sought. So apparent was this that the President of the Alliance suggested that the heads of the American Independence Union resign in favor of gentlemen whose names would not so clearly betray their German origin and partisanship.

More was expected from the "American Embargo Conference" which was organized in July, 1915. The financial agent of the German government, through his representatives, was kept in touch with this movement. He was assured that the promoters would use every effort to keep the German element, which would favor the movement anyway, in the back-

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ground, so that the organization "might have to all outward appearances a purely American character." All those prominently identified with it were carefully selected with reference to the phonology of their surnames — only Anglo-American names were to be used. Headquarters were opened in Chicago and a new battery of petitions, circulars, telegrams and letters was directed from that point.

Unfortunately this disguise was also soon recognized. In April, 1915, Franz von Rintelen, an agent of the German secret service, was sent to New York with a large fund for the purpose of convincing labor of the inhumanity of the munitions industry. His money immediately attracted attention and he had no difficulty in finding gentlemen who assumed to represent labor and to be in a position to put into effect the will of the laboring population. "Labor's National Peace Council" was organized among a few people whom promises of a junket, with all expenses paid,

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attracted to Washington. To the everlasting credit of the official representatives of labor be it said that they were never deceived as to the true purpose of the organization, nor tempted by its campaign fund. Part of the activities of this organization consisted in stirring up strikes in various plants engaged in munitions manufacture. In each case where a strike was purchased, it encountered opposition from workingmen. The Council finally came under federal investigation and when the indictments were returned, the names of two gentlemen who had been prominent in the Embargo Conference, one of them as Chairman of its committee of legal advisers, led all the rest. These gentlemen were charged jointly with von Rintelen with conspiracy in restraint of the foreign commerce of the United States.

Germans did not long remain in the background in the activities of the Conference. Local branches sprang up with such suggestive names as the "Bismarck"

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or "Moltke" branch. Within five months, so it was claimed, two thousand branches had been formed. The Texas federation urged its members to contribute to the funds of the organization. The Alliance urged all its members to activity in circulating the literature of the Conference and in obtaining signatures for its petitions, letters and protests. In many places, German societies sent out solicitors with multigraph copies of the form letters supplied by the Conference. They were also provided with envelopes, properly addressed and stamped, so that nothing further was required of the citizen but his signature. When the resolutions asking that Americans be warned against traveling on the ships of the belligerents were before Congress, a flood of these missives from all parts of the country and identical in wording, descended upon the representatives in Washington.

The most elaborate campaign, however, followed the dispatch of our govern-

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ment's note of April 18th, 1916, and President Wilson's appearance before Congress in regard to the submarine controversy.

On April 24th, from headquarters in Chicago, letters were sent to all local organizations and to individuals in sympathy with the movement, warning them that the country was about to be dragged into the terrible war in Europe; that the situation was more grave than words could depict; that the crisis was so near that ordinary means of communication would be of no avail, and urging that telegrams be dispatched at once to members of Congress. The Conference engaged to pay all tolls upon receipt of bills.

The letter was accompanied by a printed sheet containing nine forms of telegrams. These were to be signed in rotation. The first urged the recipient to "stand like a rock against the passing frenzy and criminal folly on the part of the small portion of interested persons

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who are clamoring for war." Others assumed to speak for the "real sufferers," while one, registering sobs, purported to come from "the wives and mothers in your district."

On the 26th, letters were dispatched to all sympathizers asking them for marked copies of newspapers carrying accounts of the peace telegrams. On the 27th orders were sent to cease firing, and the bombardment ended. The Conference estimated that considerably more than one hundred thousand telegrams had been sent, and that the number might reach two hundred and fifty thousand. The tolls which it obligated itself to pay must therefore have aggregated nearly a quarter of a million dollars. Where did the money come from?

The attitude of the violently pro-German element has been particularly harmful in the submarine controversy. In the dark days following the *Lusitania* tragedy, when it was a matter of honor with every American to forget personal

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prejudices in unswerving loyalty to the country, the order was wired from the headquarters of the Alliance to every state organization demanding that it telegraph the President "that their members and an overwhelming majority of the citizens of their respective states were opposed to drastic measures against Germany as unjustified." Whether, as a matter of fact, this was the sentiment of the overwhelming majority in the several states, and whether they regarded drastic measures as unjustified, was a matter, apparently, decided for the local organizations at the headquarters of the Alliance. The accuracy of these statements, so it would appear, was not so important as their mass effect. In response to the mandate, telegrams poured in upon a sorely harassed executive, denouncing the victims of the tragedy for having traveled on a British ship; asserting that the tragedy would not have occurred had this government put an embargo on munitions and insisted upon

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the right to ship provisions to the central allies; that England had purposely failed in her duty to convoy the *Lusitania* in order to invite her destruction and bring on a war with Germany; and urging that reparation be demanded of the British government.

At a mass meeting of German citizens in St. Louis, resolutions were adopted excusing the torpedoing on the ground of our unneutral attitude in failing to lay an embargo on munitions. "The American passengers were warned by the German Ambassador in the English newspapers. That warning saved the lives of hundreds of Americans, and for this Count von Bernstorff should receive the thanks of the American people." At a mass meeting in New York, presided over by the president of the New York Federation of German Societies and at which Captains von Papen and Boy-Ed and the Turkish Consul General were present as guests, one speaker declared that "so long as our government permits

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the export of arms, so long will German-Americans refuse to ask that ships like the *Lusitania* be spared."

Another agency employed by the German propaganda has been the organization known as the "Friends of Peace." This was promoted principally by officers of German societies for the purpose of obtaining an expression in favor of an embargo on munitions. A convention met in Chicago last September. The German sympathizers used every effort to obtain an out-and-out expression favoring the embargo resolutions in Congress, but their purpose seems to have been discovered by some of the pacifists. After a debate of ten hours in committee, they were obliged to content themselves with a resolution condemning the munitions business generally. The convention did, however, step aside from its purely pacifist purposes to the extent of recalling the Declaration of Independence and the War of 1812, of promulgating a new declaration

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of independence from English naval supremacy, and of insisting upon trade in non-contraband goods. The "Neutrality and Peace Convention" of San Francisco, which was made up of representatives of German and Irish societies, went further. A telegram was sent to the President calling attention to the fact that England had answered all our notes by ignoring them and by additional outrages; further notes and protests would be laughable and humiliating; the people had provided an army and navy in order that they might be utilized in such a crisis to protect American commerce and the rights of our citizens, and the convention called upon the President for action. Apparently the peacemakers were so devoted to their ideal that they were willing to have war to secure the particular peace which they desired.

Just as the German government counted upon an insurrection in Ireland, so the Alliance and the partisans of Germany in this country turned to Irish

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organizations for support. As far back as 1907 a working agreement was made with the Ancient Order of Hibernians; in 1910 the scope of the agreement was enlarged and the relations between the two societies became intimate. Joint action was taken on a number of matters, notably the proposed arbitration treaty with England.

Since the outbreak of the war, the local societies of the Alliance have been urged to get into touch with Irish organizations. Accordingly, German-Americans have fraternized ostentatiously with their fellow citizens of Irish extraction. In many places "Irish-German-American leagues" have been formed. In 1915, for the first time in history, so it was said, Germans and Irishmen throughout the world united in the celebration of St. Patrick's day. The birthdays of Robert Emmett and of Bismarck have been made the occasions for joint celebrations, and at all these meetings the declaration of the Kaiser that in the event of an invasion of

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Ireland, the German army would come as liberators and not as conquerors, has been applauded.

German publications have given much prominence to the wrongs of Ireland and to descriptions of how these would be righted in the event of a German victory. The *Fatherland* has published Napoleon's speech to the Irish Parliament and has advised its circulation. It advised the people of Dublin to hold out the olive branch to the friendly conquerors from Germany. In Passaic both the *Fatherland* and the *Gaelic-American* were excluded from the public library. The local German organizations took up the cudgels on behalf of both publications and scored a triumph in having them replaced.

An organization made up largely of citizens of Irish extraction has also rendered valiant service. This is the so-called "American Truth Society." It claims to have been organized in 1912 for the purpose of freeing the United

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States from English influence. In the last eighteen months it has received large accessions of German-American members, and it has proved a valuable literary agency for the pro-German propaganda.

In view of the reiterated protestations of undivided loyalty which head all petitions circulated by German sympathizers, the pamphlet, "A German-American War," published by the society immediately after the *Lusitania* outrage, is interesting. The author describes the terrors which would follow a break with Germany. German reservists would immediately leave the country, retiring by preference to Mexico. They would there stir up the native population and, using that country as a base, would conduct an invasion of the southwestern states. Race feuds would break out and the loyalty of the German element would succumb; the result would be a revolution which would drench the country with blood.

Many other organizations have been

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employed in the propaganda. They are interrelated to such an extent that they may be said to be merely aliases for the same agencies. The president of the American Independence Union and the president of the New York Federation of German Societies are the most active members of the executive committee of the Friends of Peace; the members of local German societies are in nearly all instances officers of local branches of the Neutrality League and of the American Embargo Conference; representatives of the German Publishers' Association, of the Friends of Peace, of the American Independence Union, of the New York Federation of German Societies, and one of the editors of the *Fatherland,* appear among the trustees of the American Truth Society; some of the same names appear in the official roster of the German-American Literary Defense Committee, of the German University League and of the Intercollegiate League of German Clubs. The most

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violently partisan is a new organization which goes under the name of the "Teutonic Sons of America."

Almost as violent as the opposition to the munitions traffic has been the propaganda against the loan made to the allied powers. In addition to protests on the ground that the loan itself was a breach of neutrality, the Alliance has warned all its members against banking, trust, and insurance companies participating in it. Many state and local federations sent letters to such companies inquiring whether any of their funds were so invested. Insurance companies were at the same time informed that if such were the case, their members would be unable to take any further policies and that, in fact, they and allied societies, having a membership of some two millions, all of whom entertained the same views, were contemplating the organization of an independent company. The Minnesota federation advised its members to deposit only with such banks as gave positive

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assurances that none of their funds were invested in securities of the allied powers. The American Truth Society, advertising in the *Fatherland,* attempted to obtain the names of New York depositors, to organize them under a committee of one hundred, and to serve notice on banks that deposits would be withdrawn if the investments they disapproved were made.

The only criticism that could be made on this is the fact that the Alliance recommended the German war loan to its members as an investment, and the *Fatherland* carried pages of advertising urging Germans as a patriotic duty to buy the securities of the Central Powers. These securities also received favorable comment in the news columns.

The latest development of the pro-German propaganda has been its entry into politics. "Use the ballot for your *Deutschthum,*" has become the watchword. "We shall rewrite the word American, to the extent of our power, in terms of our own ethnic complexion," declared

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the *Fatherland*. "We shall go into the arena of politics. We shall try to beat you at your own game. One hundred and seventy members of Congress are of Irish extraction. There is no reason why they should not be joined by one hundred and seventy of German extraction."

The American Embargo Conference, the Truth Society and the National German-American Alliance each sent questionnaires to members of Congress for the purpose of learning their attitude on the embargo, the British blockade, and the seizure of the *Wilhelmina*. These were accompanied with very distinct intimations of defeat if the answers were unsatisfactory. The nomination of Mr. Sweitzer at the mayoralty primaries in Chicago was heralded by the *Fatherland* as a victory for German-Americans; his subsequent defeat at the election the same paper complained of as due to unscrupulous opponents who had raised the racial issue! The American Truth Society

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ostentatiously claimed credit for the defeat of the Democratic candidate in the twenty-third congressional district of New York as a rebuke to the alleged pro-British policies of the administration.

The president of the Wisconsin Federation of German Societies proposed that arrangements be made with the chairmen of Republican state committees for the purpose of securing places for prominent German-Americans on the delegations to the National Republican Convention. The Illinois federation passed the word to all its constituent societies to do everything to defeat Mr. Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt, and the same action was taken by many other organizations. "We must forget party," said Congressman Bartholdt, "and without regard for previous affiliations vote only for those men who are the friends of Germanism." His words were echoed by members of the Alliance from coast to coast.

It is improbable that all this persistent,

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and ofttimes intemperate, propaganda has gained converts for the German cause. "Nowhere," says Dr. Eduard Meyer, "has the general hostility to Germany manifested itself more surprisingly or with greater intensity than in the United States." Dr. Dernberg found no response among American audiences. Professor Kuehnemann confessed that, while at first he conceived it to be his mission to convert the native Americans, after nearly two years of lecturing he had discovered that even in free America there were people who refused enlightenment, and that thenceforth he would devote his attention to the German element.

No criticism is here intended of those who on humanitarian and ethical grounds, and in all sincerity, disapproved of the traffic in munitions and opposed the loan to the Allies. It is only when viewed in relation to its real purposes, the creation of hostility towards England and the securing of some advantage to Germany, even to the prejudice of the rights of

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American citizens and at the cost of serious embarrassment to those intrusted with the foreign relations of the United States, that the activity of the German partisans becomes pernicious and utterly un-American. Their propaganda, while gaining no converts, has had the important effect of encouraging the amazing effrontery with which the German government and its agents have prosecuted their designs. It has served to give these foreigners an exaggerated notion of the strength of the pro-German sentiment. Backed by this sentiment they could defy both domestic and international law and transgress diplomatic privilege; the rights of American citizens could be violated with impunity and the protests of our government ignored. "Do you think for a moment," says Senator Husting of Wisconsin, in commenting on the campaign of the American Embargo Conference, "that two hundred or three hundred thousand telegrams that have been sent here by citizens of the United

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States protesting, in effect, against our government's action, are going to persuade a foreign government to yield to our rightful and just demands? Or, are they better calculated, I want to ask, to strengthen another country in the belief that we, as Americans, recognize the justice of their claims and thus give them timely advice that they need not yield to us because, in the event they do not yield to us, then we will yield to them."

Bernhardi predicted that in the event of a war between England and Germany, the United States would gladly seize upon the opportunity for the conquest of Canada. Soon after the war began a pamphlet, printed in German and addressed to German-Americans, made its appearance in the United States. The author proposed the following plan:

"Many Americans are hoping for an expedition against Canada during this war; some of course, are dubious about such a proceeding in view of the weakness

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of the American Army. For that reason the idea is freely advanced in the American press that recourse should be had to the five hundred thousand German reservists in the United States who would form the backbone of an army that could immediately be pushed against the Canadian frontier. In this long frontier England has always presented the most vulnerable part of her entire colonial empire; Canada, too, presents a far greater area for friction with the United States than the West Indian Archipelago.

"But even if the German Americans can not persuade their countrymen of the advantages of such a proceeding against Canada, they nevertheless have the opportunity of inciting and equipping the German reservists in America for an independent campaign against Canada, even though the official circles of the German element would, for appearances, have to keep aloof. Before the battle of the Falkland Islands the plan had received consideration of sending the

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five cruisers of Admiral Spee to Vancouver and of providing a rendezvous on this rich island for the Army which was to be improvised in this manner. The *Times* gave the alarm and the British ambassador in Washington protested to the American government against the massing of armed Germans on the Canadian border which the press described.

"Some other rendezvous than Vancouver could be selected, and if it were not betrayed, such an expedition against Canada promises satisfactory results. Troops there are in plenty, since, according to official statistics, five hundred and fifty thousand German reservists are being detained in the United States, of whom thirty-five thousand are in New York City and fifty-three thousand in Chicago. These men are lacking neither in enthusiasm nor warlike spirit. Furthermore, the German troops would undoubtedly be received with open arms by the Germans of Canada, who, according to the census of 1911, numbered five hundred

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and twenty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three."

These statements might be regarded as merely the vaporings of an irresponsible pamphleteer, but for the fact that the volume contains an introduction bearing the name of Admiral von Knorr, of the German Navy. The recent confession, moreover, of a member of the German secret service implicates Captain von Papen, former attaché of the German Embassy, in a projected invasion of Canada by German reservists. The details of the plan were discussed by the conspirators in New York City.

The evidences of the plots of German agents in this country have been accumulating. Wholesale perjury in obtaining passports for German reservists and the purchase of affidavits in regard to the *Lusitania* have been laid bare. Several months ago officials of the Hamburg-American line were convicted of conspiracy in obtaining, by means of false manifests, clearances for ships in-

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tended to supply German raiders. Indictments have been returned against the German Consul General in San Francisco and members of his staff for attempting to organize a military expedition in connection with plans for the destruction of Canadian railroad tunnels. Captain von Papen and his secretary have been indicted for conspiracy to destroy the Welland canal, and the German embassy has demanded the papers seized on the occasion of the latter's arrest on the ground that they were official documents and his office in New York city a part of the German embassy! Other indictments for conspiracies to destroy vessels sailing from American ports have been returned, and revelations of widespread plots to blow up munition factories have been made. Many of these convictions and arrests have been brought about through the able and efficient work of Mr. H. Snowden Marshall, United States District Attorney in New York City, who, in spite of the hue and cry of the

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German press and the intermeddling of congressional politicians, has faithfully performed his duty in upholding the dignity of American law.

The remarkable thing about it all is that not one of these revelations has elicited a single expression of criticism of the activities of German agents on the part of the National German-American Alliance or its affiliated organizations. While raucously denouncing the President of the United States as an "ammunition broker" and reviling the Secretary of State as "the messenger boy of Sir Edward Grey," the official *Bulletin* of the Alliance does not record a syllable of protest against the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the torpedoing of the *Arabic*, the destruction of the *Sussex*, the murders of hundreds of innocent Americans, the plots to blow up bridges and factories, or the gross transgressions of diplomatic privilege on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador and the attachés of the German embassy. Not a voice has been

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raised in even half-hearted indignation. The pages of the *Bulletin* are eloquent in their silence.

From Germany's standpoint, *Kulturpolitik* has been amply justified. For many German-Americans, the promise of true faith and allegiance has become a scrap of paper; the ideals of American citizenship and of a more perfect union have been ignored.

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VI

CONCLUSION

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VI

CONCLUSION

EVERY American must respect the sentimental attachment of citizens of German origin to the old Fatherland. Their political attachment, on the other hand, is as unnatural as it is pernicious.

Modern Germans are proud to hail Charlemagne as the first Kaiser, but Charlemagne well-nigh exterminated the Saxon tribes who dwelt between the Elbe and the Rhine and overthrew the *Irmensäule,* which were said to commemorate the victory of the German Arminius over the Roman legions of Varus. The liberties won in the Teutoberg forest were lost under the German successors of the Cæsars. The barbarians overwhelmed Rome but in turn were conquered by Roman civilization, Roman law and the Roman Church. The memory of old Germanic institutions faded

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and grew dim. In place of the free customs of the people came the *corpus juris;* the public assembly was forgotten; the freemen disappeared before a horde of petty princes; the *heerbann* of the tribe was replaced by mercenary retainers; the intense individualism, which, in the second century excited the admiration of Tacitus, in the course of centuries of oppression gave way to a habit of subjection. The capacity for political achievement became atrophied. The rise of Prussia and the unification of Germany were the work of the Princes. They gave to the one a sham constitution, and bestowed upon the empire an organic law which was careful to prescribe the model for military uniforms, but overlooked fundamental rights of person and of property and provided an appointive federal council which, under the scheme arranged, can nullify every act of the representatives of the people. The Germanic birthright of independence and individual initiative was surrendered.

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The rights of man have vanished before the divine right of the state, and the divine right of the state is personified in the king and emperor.

Very different was the fate of Germanic traditions in England. The tribes of Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, who overwhelmed the island in the fifth and sixth centuries, brought with them their racial inheritance. Nowhere else was the barbarian conquest so thorough. Rome never succeeded, as on the continent, in casting the spell of her political, religious, or intellectual empire over these conquerors. English history — and in its broad aspects that includes the history of the American people — begins with the Germanic conquest, and throughout its course is essentially the record of the struggle for the preservation and development of the institutions and ideals which so profoundly impressed the Roman chroniclers. The Germanic assembly became the prototype of the Witenagemot; the Witenagemot developed into Parliament,

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and the Parliament on this side of the Atlantic became Congress and state legislature. From the conception of law as the growth of free customs of the people there developed the great body of our common law, a law supreme over sovereign as well as subject, which Anglo-Saxons have carried as their inheritance into every part of the world and which they have made the basic law of most of the American states. The self-reliant warriors described by Tacitus are reflected in the constitutional amendment declaring that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed; the intense individualism which he admired finds expression in the guaranties of religious freedom, the freedom of speech and of the press, of the right to assemble and petition, of security of life, liberty and property and of many other rights which have been won for us and emphasized in a long line of charters and declarations, extending from Magna Carta to the Constitution and its

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amendments. While repudiating the divine right of kings, this branch of the Germanic race has steadily aimed to realize the divine right of man.

The heritage of Arminius has descended to us through King Alfred, through the barons of Runnymede, through the men who refused to pay ship money to Charles I. and through the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The Hohenzollern dynasty has no place in this illustrious lineage. The institutions of America to-day and not those of modern Germany are the representatives of the Germanic prototype. As such they properly command the natural allegiance of every German-American.

But our democracy is still in the making. We have not yet learned to curb the abuse of liberty by the cunning nor the misuse of it by the incompetent. Our history has been such as of necessity to emphasize rights, often to the prejudice of their correlated duties. Every man who has come to our shores has cast aside

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old obligations, — most of them oppressive and tyrannical, it is true, and fit only for the refuse accumulation of the past. But the sense of new obligations has not always taken their place. The feeling of responsibility for the welfare of the whole has been smothered under the continual insistence upon rights and personal interest.

The result is seen in every phase of American life — from the manufacturer so intent upon the production of his plant that he has voted only twice in twenty-five years to the society woman who recognizes no responsibility for the perpetuation of the race, from the capitalist exploiting the resources of a continent to the labor union ready to paralyze the industry of a nation to gain its ends, from the politician trimming his sails to every fitful gust of popular opinion to the college student dawdling over his mandolin. Only recently, the undergraduates of a great Middle Western University, with elaborate scenic and

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costume effects, staged a musical comedy depicting certain phases of college life. It had considerable merit, as such things go. But, with the world under arms, with every nation of Europe striving to its utmost resources for the preservation of its national life, these young men found time to learn to dance in skirts and mimic girls! What a spectacle for a Juvenal! What a subject for the Roman satirists! How many of these youths have learned to handle a rifle, to build a road, to assemble a pontoon bridge, or render any other red-blooded, physical service to their country!

Just as Stein and Scharnhorst translated the categorical imperative of Kant into the terms of universal military service, so our citizens of German origin should translate German philosophy and German character into the terms of service to the state and devotion to their adopted country. But the agitation of the last two years, the attempts to cripple our government in its foreign relations,

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the abuse of our responsible executives, the creation of a state within a state, are decidedly at variance with German character and with the German's traditional sense of *Pflicht* and *Treue*. They are in essence as un-German as they are un-American.

The teaching of foreign languages in our public schools unquestionably has its value. Let the children of German parents receive instruction in French or Spanish, let the children of native Americans learn German, but let us insist first and foremost that every one learn the language of our country and become American in every sense of the word. Far better were it for our national life if our German-American citizens remained politically and geographically German and became in every other respect American, than that they became merely geographically and politically American and in every other sense remained German.

The teaching of a foreign language

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and the maintaining of a foreign language press for the purposes of racial solidarity are intolerable. The propaganda stands condemned by the results which would follow its adoption on behalf of other nationalities. Several years ago the National German-American Alliance pointed proudly to the fact that citizens of Italian origin had formed a national organization taking as a model that perfected by German-Americans. Recently the official *Bulletin* welcomed into life a new publication which appears under the motto "The spirit, culture, and the languages of the North of the old world for the North of the new world." Foreign language instruction in Chicago has already led to disputes with the Slavic, Bohemian and Polish populations. Let this movement become general among all races and the United States will become a polyglot of compact organizations in which Germans, Italians, Poles, Russians and every other people will strive to preserve their peculiar customs, languages

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and institutions. The more virile will naturally attempt to impose their distinctive ideas of culture on all the others. Racial feuds will disrupt the country and make of it a heterogeneous mass of warring factions. The internal troubles of the Dual Empire would be reproduced on a vastly larger scale. Under these influences an American nation would be impossible, and without an American nation the American state would soon succumb to disintegration.

Let our German-Americans study a few pages of German history. Let them examine the Prussian record in Poland and in Alsace. Let them study the foreign language legislation and decrees in these subject provinces, and recall the days when the Prussian police forbade the use of the French language even on tombstones. Let them bear in mind that while America has never restricted the use of the German language, no speaker can address an audience within the boundaries of the empire in any foreign

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language without the permission of the police authorities. Far be it from us to imitate the policy of Germany in these respects, but German citizens have no right to demand what their own Fatherland refuses when it threatens the life of America.

Nor can the activity of these propagandists be defended under the ægis of a superior German culture. True culture demands neither a press agent nor a conscious propaganda. Twenty-two hundred years after Chaeronea Greek thought still rules the modern world. Germans are proud to point to the work done by the Schlegels in interpreting Shakespeare to their countrymen, and to claim that to-day the masterpieces of English drama enjoy a greater vogue in Germany than in England or America. This was not the result of any imperial policy, of any "will to power," nor was any propaganda necessary to attract Longfellow, Bancroft, and the thousands of other Americans who have studied in

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German universities. The influence of true German culture lies in the power of no man and of no government to either limit or destroy. It is prized as highly by native Americans as by native Germans. But every people — and in time this will include the Germans themselves — resents the muezzin-call of the zealots of modern *Kultur*. It makes neither for comity nor for good will. It has produced Lissauer's "Hymn of Hate" which has been printed in the songbook of every German soldier. Japan has acquired more *Kultur* than any other country, and yet no peoples entertain for each other the same degree of dislike as the Germans and the Japanese.

In estimating the activity of the Germans during the last eighteen months allowance must be made for the high tension of feeling produced by the war. Nor must it be imagined for one moment that the majority of Germans in this country subscribe to the opinions put forth by the noisy propagandists. This group,

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though compact and well organized, forms but a small fraction of the thirty millions of citizens of German birth or descent in this country. They represent the later immigrations, — for the most part those which followed the formation of the empire. The official roster of the Alliance may fairly be taken as representative of its membership, or at least of the controlling faction in that membership. Of the twelve officers not one can point to an Americanism more than two generations old. The majority are foreign born.

It is for the descendants of those Germans who fought under Herkimer at Oriskany; of those who followed Mühlenberg; of those who over the trenches of Yorktown heard the opposing commands given in their native tongue, and finally saw the garrison march out to the time of German music; of those who fought under Schurz and Sigel in the Civil War, to rebuke these prophets of disunion and to turn the aspirations of

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their countrymen in the direction of true American nationalism.

Nor can native Americans avoid their share of responsibility for what has occurred. In the mad pursuit of material gain, in their own indifference to national life, they have offered these later arrivals no new ideals, no means of amalgamation. They have naturally reverted to what Germany gave them.

In these mighty days the national life of every country of Europe is being fused and purified on the altars of self-sacrifice. The time has come to settle this question of America. Is Germanism to be exalted over American citizenship? Are true faith and allegiance to be forgotten? Is the more perfect union to disintegrate? Is the sun that rose in glory at Philadelphia to be eclipsed by the policies of a foreign government, to sink finally in the murky exhalations of race prejudice?

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